

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREEPENCE

## BBC TELLS EUROPE OF BRITISH COs

Will British listeners be told as much?

**T**HIS is London calling Europe. The Case of the British Conscientious Objector. With these words began the BBC European Broadcast last Tuesday. It was No. 3 in the series "The Law at Work," and told Continental listeners "How Britain dealt with the thousands of men who, in a desperate hour for the nation, felt it against their conscience to take up arms or take any part at all in the war."

The broadcast was a tribute to British pacifists as well as to British justice. But as a result of it, European youth may be better informed on the subject—officially—than is British youth, and it emphasises the need for similar information being given to our boys, while still at school, regarding their right to register as COs when called up.

We understand, however, that the subject may be dealt with soon in the Home Service series, "This is The Law."

The broadcast opened with a description of the retreat of the British soldiers to Dunkirk, May 1940:

**Other kinds of courage**

"These are the men who are making history; whose courage is unquestioned. But courage is a quality that knows no boundaries. The way is clear for the soldier."

"But what of the men who—on this same day—are involved in a spiritual battle; a battle of conscience; men who do not think it right to fight? Men like this..."

And the "Voice" utters a typical CO opinion:

"I believe that I must live in a spirit that does no injury to the life or the spirit of any man. My whole being revolts at the prospect of taking part in war. I know that if I did so I should utterly destroy those moral principles by which I live and, in so doing, destroy my spiritual self."

"How does one deal with such opinions?" asked the Narrator. "The principle that must guide us is simple. Even with the nation's existence at stake such deep and sincere scruples must be respected." And

## 'ADMIT MILITARY' ORDER TO HEADMASTERS

**H**ENDON headmasters were last week ordered by the Borough Education Committee to allow army lecturers and cadet organisation officers to address boys in school.

The Committee originally decided to "raise no objections" to the visits, reports the Hampstead and Golders Green Gazette, but an amendment was carried by 18-5 after two councillors had warned against teachers with "Communist or pacifist tendencies" who might refuse admission into the schools of officers of H.M. Forces.

**"We must assert our authority"**

"We live in a hostile world, and give no training to those who will be called upon to defend us in an emergency," said Alder-authority R. J. Knowles. "We must assert our authority. This is a good thing and it must be carried out."

Councillor S. E. Sharpe asked for, and was given, an assurance that there would be no compulsion on boys, particularly if their parents objected.

**Boys will visit mobile vans**

Army lecturers will visit the schools—secondary and senior primary—in April, May, June and July. Cadet officers will hold meetings during school hours, and senior boys will visit the army apprentice schools' mobile van when it comes to Hendon.

The distribution of a special leaflet to every house in Hendon was one of the items on the agenda for last night's meeting of the Peace Pledge Union's Campaign Committee.

he quoted Lord Beveridge in a war-time broadcast:

"Admission of the right of conscientious objection to war service is the extreme case of British freedom. Nor have I any doubt that it makes Britain stronger in war rather than weaker. The apparent loss of manpower... is no loss at all; resentful conscripts are sources of weakness."

But, the statement continued, granted the principle, the problem still remained.

"In the 1914-18 war their forerunners had shown a spirit so sincere and unquenchable that their example had impressed the British conscience."

Admitting that this is a form of exemption which "has puzzled or amused many of our foreign friends as an example of British illogicality," the broadcast proceeded to give a full account of the whole procedure of the law, with the constitution and functions of the Tribunals, the registration, the different grades of exemption, from the man who receives absolute exemption to the man whose exemption is refused.

**What the Quaker said**

Then follow a series of imaginary cases, describing the personnel of the Tribunal and quoting the applicant's statement and the questions and answers of the discussion.

The first is a Quaker, "nervous but determined," who reads his statement:

"As a Christian pacifist I believe that all war is morally wrong and fundamentally opposed to the spirit and teaching of Christ. . . . Similarly I regard all non-combatant service in forces as an integral part of the war and I cannot under any circumstances accept. . . ."

He added that he could not even undertake agriculture as an alternative. An MP appeared as witness to the applicant's sincerity, and after more questions the Tribunal granted absolute exemption.

The Narrator then explained that most of the applicants claimed on religious grounds, some on humanitarian, ethical or rational grounds while others were political—Irish Nationalists, National Socialists, "and, until Russia entered the war, a number of Communists."

A case was then given of a political CO who had been rejected by the Tribunal and was appealing against the decision to the Appellate Tribunal.

Questions were put to him: "What is the alternative to the acceptance of Nazi aggression?" . . . "If you were a German you would not be able to sit at a table like this with the right to be guided by your conscience" . . . "You have that freedom here. Where else will you find it in the world today?" . . .

**The individual decides**

"But the objector remains unconvinced. Stolidly he puts his case—'It is my conviction that the use of force is justified only if on balance it will save human life and prevent suffering. I cannot say I would oppose all wars. . . .'"

That man, the broadcast proceeded, was registered for non-combatant duties; and it added that there were some whose appeal was dismissed, but who "defied the findings of both local and appellate tribunals."

Theirs, it said, "was a lonely battle, involving courage and spiritual suffering," leading to a short prison sentence from which, however, they were usually discharged from the forces on the recommendation of a specially constituted tribunal.

Concluding, the broadcast said: "Passions run high in war. However impartial the Tribunals tried to be there may have been injustices. . . . Yet these injustices were small beside the importance of the decision to recognise the right of objection."

"Its implications mean nothing less than that the final judgment on participation in war is made not by the State but by the individual."

Lead-out: "You have been listening to the Case of the British Conscientious Objector by James Kinross."

PPU's CENTRAL HALL PEACE DEMONSTRATION

## World changes depend on determined minorities

"I believe that in our fellowship at this moment we may bring to pass a measure of union within this divided world."—Michael Tippett.

**R**HYS DAVIES and Emrys Hughes, the two pacifist MPs, speaking at the Peace Pledge Union's demonstration at the Central Hall, Westminster, last Monday, were warmly applauded for their vigorous and constant stand against militarism in the House of Commons. On the platform with them were Mrs. Leah Manning, Sybil Morrison, Michael Tippett and Stuart Morris. Vera Brittain was in the Chair.

"War, like other manifestations of human evil, can only be eliminated by a revolutionary change in standards, exemplified by a minority large enough to influence the majority," said Vera Brittain, on opening the meeting, "and it is our job to create that minority."

Studying 17th century history in connection with her book on John Bunyan, she had been struck by what a small handful of men they were who began the great movement which won freedom of worship.

Today we pacifists were engaged in a similar struggle—trying to win freedom from fear.

This century had seen three outstanding accomplishments, all of which had been pronounced impossible by the majority. There was the suffrage movement, started by a very small number of women; it had succeeded. There was the Labour Party, which began with a handful of men led by Keir Hardie and was now the majority party. Then there was the liberation of India, achieved by the genius of Gandhi and his few followers.

**How the impossible is achieved**

She concluded by quoting the sayings of two great men. It was John Wesley who used these words "Give me one hundred men who fear nothing but God, nothing but sin, and have the love of Jesus in their hearts, and with them I can move the world." Today in our larger societies we need more than a hundred men and women to conquer war, but we could do it with a few thousands. So we ask you who are here to join with us and help to make that number.

The other saying was from the Dedicator Epistle to *Man and Superman* by Bernard Shaw "This is the true joy in life, the being used for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one." "It is mighty purpose—perhaps the mightiest that this generation could offer to which we summon you tonight. We ask you to join us and help us to realise it," said Vera Brittain.

Rhys Davies said that, as a Welshman, he was 50 years old before he learnt English, but he still had to learn the meaning of the word "Defence."

That week in Parliament he had again heard the argument that the way to prevent war was to arm to the teeth. His answer was that as long as governments provided the weapons there would always be militarists to pull the trigger.

He had read the history of wars and learnt that centuries ago the chieftains

were always quarrelling. But in those days the chieftains did the fighting and the lads carried the bread and cheese and beer to the front line. Today, the quarrelling chieftains were all safe behind the lines while the lads did their dirty work for them. If people would put the responsibility for the fighting upon those who made the quarrels there would be no wars.

**Cosh—no; atom bomb—yes**

Emrys Hughes gave an amusing but significant description of the current defence debate.

While the Lords were being indignant about the cosh, he said, the Commons were discussing how to provide the planes which would presumably drop atom bombs.

Pacifists were called impractical, but it was the military experts who were the real sentimentalists, the incurable romanticists. They were still thinking in terms of the last war but one. They wouldn't face up to the facts of atomic war but went on discussing territorial after Lord Trenchard had warned them the next war might start with ten million casualties or even twenty million.

Russia wasn't the only country with an Iron Curtain. You found it here whenever you tried to find out the cost of a battleship or whether there were any atom bombs in this country.

**Only answer to total war**

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, said the present time was rightly called the "day of crisis," for that meant "judgment." Today we were being called to judgment; the H-bomb exemplified the truth of the eternal law—"As ye sow, so ye shall reap."

The question was not—could we afford the physical risk of war, but—could we afford the spiritual risk of losing our souls in the attempt to save our skins?

The only answer to total war was absolute peace. They did not minimise the consequences of their action in renouncing all war, for they knew it was a revolution.

Leah Manning said that whether or not Mr. Churchill's Election proposal for a meeting with Stalin was a stunt, at least he had his ear to the ground and reflected what the people were most concerned about

Statesmen were without imagination. They kept saying war was neither necessary nor inevitable, but if you asked for practical steps all they could say was that the best defence was to be heavily armed. The face of Europe was

(Continued on page six)



The cost of security for 1950 shows a steady increase. —vide Press.



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## TARNISHED NOBILITY

**L**AST week the Press reported Mr. Strachey as follows (we quote the Manchester Guardian):

"He wants the profession of arms restored in public favour; he wants it to attain the status in the public mind of a noble calling."

The first thing to say about that curious aspiration is that it shows how far backwards this nation—even when ruled by Socialists—has travelled towards militarism since we fought the first of the wars to end it.

If those words were not printed in a paper notable for its correctness one might suspect some unhappy error by which opinions had been attributed to an English Socialist MP which had really been uttered by Kaiser Wilhelm or Adolf Hitler.

For they express an ideology which we all thought had long ago ceased to travel further West than the Rhine.

\*

We have been accustomed to associating the adulation of militarism with men like Mr. Churchill; and in such men we excuse it. They are, we say, of an older generation; of a type of romanticist that is dying out—men who think nostalgically in terms of the past and prolong the poetic idealisation of war against the realities of the present. And we tolerantly say—leave them to the dreams of their second adolescence.

But it is almost incredible to think that this time the sentiments are those of a man very much of the present—one of the youngest Cabinet Ministers; a highly educated, intellectual Socialist and, but a few years back, an idealist in many ways ahead of his generation.

\*

We do not believe John Strachey really enjoys the idea of glamourising the trade of professional killer. We believe he is moved to such expressions by a feeling of necessity, due to his sharing, with most men, the faith in evil means to achieve good ends.

But however much we may deplore this reactionary and anachronistic statement, we may be sure of one thing: he will never get what he wants.

That feeling of necessity which we guess probably moved him was the undercurrent of the whole of the recent defence debate, and related to the frankly admitted failure of the recruiting campaign.

Whether there ever was any connection between recruiting statistics and the nobility of arms is doubtful. The chief aid to recruiting seems generally to have been unemployment, and now that is temporarily negligible, only legal compulsion can call the nation's manhood to the grand old flag.

\*

The glamourisation of the fighting man is gone for ever. It is too late to revive it.

The picture conjured up by the phrase "profession of arms" has fantastically changed it. It is no longer that of a band of red-coated heroes standing four-square to overwhelming numbers or extended to a thin red line.

That old picture has literally gone up in the air; and even the least imaginative cannot forget that the "noble calling" now includes the occasional duty of tearing women's and children's bodies to pieces or burning them alive.

The natural attraction of modern youth to mechanical contrivances and the still novel thrill of aeronautics may partly veil the background of these horrors.

But it cannot disguise as noble a method of indiscriminate slaughter and torture of which our grandfathers would have refused to believe their grandsons capable.

Modern war calls for as much heroism as ever, perhaps even more. But the finest monuments to it look small beside the heaps that were Rotterdam and Hiroshima.

# Seretse: Violence and the law: Trygve Lie's appeal

A Commentary by ROY SHERWOOD

**T**HE Tribune, which is often more energetic and impulsive in its comments on current affairs than objective, has succeeded in producing greater wisdom on the Seretse trouble than anyone else.

In a long article on the subject in its issue of March 17, it does full justice to the difficulties of the British Government without either denying that it has blundered badly or falling into an easy tirade against the dangers of mixed marriages in general and the exceptional dangers of this one in particular.

## The mixed marriage problem

**A**NYONE with half a grain of sense can see that, as contacts between young people of different races go on increasing under modern conditions and cultural levels and interests coming closer one to another, the number of mixed marriages will grow, whatever may be said against them, wrongly or rightly. And, as their frequency increases, the world will have to find a solution to yet another new problem or suffer from one more mass maladjustment.

For behind the largely political issue of this particular marriage there stands the great problem of miscegenation, the study of which has not progressed, so far, much beyond a number of vague generalisations, mostly based upon facts collected, not always without prejudice, from thousands of unions all contracted in thoroughly unfavourable conditions.

As long as the issue of mixed marriages suffers from all the handicaps of past and present prejudices, it is not likely to progress to its optimum development.

Undeniable, on the other hand, is that the prospect of a mixed-blood successor to Seretse cannot be treated as a minor matter, not from the viewpoint of the Whites, but from that of his own subjects.

The details of his dealings with his uncle, with the vicar of St. George's, Campden Hill, with the Bishop of London and the Colonial Office are all unimportant to this wider question. Nor does it matter much whether the Tribune is right, as I certainly think it is, in believing that the British Government is not siding with the South African Government in its reactionary racial policy, but trying to strengthen the more liberal-minded General Smuts.

## What of political honesty

**O**NLY one thing is of real importance—on two levels. On the higher of the two, with which the pacifist is most concerned, whether the Government's course of action has been, and is, honest beyond the possibility of doubt. Let everyone answer that for himself. My own answer, to leave no doubt on that subject, is No.

# NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

By GWYNETH ANDERSON

**T**HE belief dies hard that the man who is directed by his conscience to "contract out" of evil social activities thereby disclaims all responsibility for social and political organisation. It should be realised, rather, that only by taking the apparently negative step of refusing to be an instrument for evil can a well-intentioned man or woman begin to visualise the full potentialities of his power for good.

Pacifists if they are to be taken seriously, must regard themselves as the custodians of justice, no less than the army and the police force. They do not deny the fact of aggression, or of injustice, and they recognise their duty to oppose them by the strongest forces available. Gandhi, and a few other great men before him, believed that the strongest forces are truth and love. And out of this conviction there has evolved a method of resistance to evil which relies upon these forces, and is therefore non-violent and creative.

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Violent resistance on a national scale always victimises the innocent. Usually it also recoils upon its users. Non-violent resistance, whether it takes the form of peaceful non-co-operation or makes concessions to the point of complete self-abnegation, has the willingness to suffer as its touchstone. Suffering in faith, without retaliation and without submission to evil, is the way of non-violent resistance.

Certain sections of the community have always been unable to enforce their rights by violence; in every nation those in authority and not the workers have had the army at their disposal; women have never been able to rely on physical force to up-

On the politician's level of expediency, with which the Tribune also deals, the question is one of consequences. Without pleasing anyone, our Government has upset Seretse's 100,000 people as well as every inhabitant of Indian or Pakistan origin in South Africa.

So far from removing it to greater distance, it has thus brought the question of South Africa's possible secession from the Commonwealth nearer. For, if this country cannot afford to quarrel with South Africa, it can afford even less to do so with the people of South-Eastern Asia. It was not worth our while to pursue an "expediency"

## Peace - doves B29

**MR. JOHNSON**, the United States Secretary for Defence, states that the Superfortresses "should prove harbingers of peace because they are symbols of strength, and peace today is possible only through strength." On this assumption, therefore, the bigger and better bombers that Russia (or any other country) produces, the more we shall be able to believe in her will for peace. Such a situation is ludicrous in itself, even though it may be an attempt to justify America's effort to solve her unemployment problems by supplying Europe with arms, and at the same time using these countries as a springboard for "defence" against possible attack.

History, especially during the present century, has proved conclusively that vast armament programmes do not preserve peace. There is already an overabundance of armed strength in the world. What is needed is a tremendous increase of moral strength which will help to improve relations between nations.

—H. GORDON HARGREAVES,  
in the Manchester Guardian,  
March 24, 1950.

policy in order to land ourselves in a position in which we become liable to lose all the benefits likely to remain with us as the result of our enlightened, if tardy liberalism in the East.

## Violence remains violence

**I**T was to be expected that there would be a vast outcry for the re-introduction of corporal punishment. Statistics will never convince people when "their blood is up." Even a great luminary of the legal profession has just confused the issue by declaring that "statistics showing lower totals of attacks with violence are no consolation to the people who have been attacked." Consolation to victims, we

might have thought, had by this time become a minor factor in the assessment of punishment. The simple truth behind this agitation is that not only the evil-doers but also their victims have become more blood-minded under the influence of war. The whole point is missed if lack of discipline among children during the war years is always trotted out as the main reason for the ready use of the cosh. Specifically, it is the glorification of deeds of violence by our own men and the unlimited cultivation of man's capacity for hatred, that are responsible. And violence remains violence, whether used in attack, in defence—or in punishment.

## Law should surmount impulse

**I**T may be natural that the victim of a brutal attack, himself or herself no exception to the all-round intensification of violent urges, should want the culprit to be punished by sufferings similar to those he has inflicted. But it is precisely because the progress-retarding effects of this kind of "justice" were realised ages ago that individual and clan avenging-action was stopped.

To justify its slowness, its staggering costliness and its rightly privileged position, the machinery of criminal judicature must work far above the level of personal impulses solely for the good of the community. When that has, in the exercise of its political functions, itself caused a general lowering of many people's standards, it has no right to punish them more severely for their misdeeds as a matter of moral right. It can do so only if it can be clearly demonstrated that the particular excess punishment proposed will prove effective as a quick remedy, and even then can do so only as a matter of unfortunate expediency. Moral indignation about the present outbreak of cosh attacks is utterly out of place.

## Hopeful news from USA

**T**HE week's best item of news is that the USA Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, has not flatly turned down the suggestion of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, for "periodic top-level meetings of the Security Council."

The most important word in all this is "periodic," because, as Mr. Lie explained in his press conference on March 21, what he had in mind was not a meeting convened to deal with any particular complaint referred to the Council by the General Assembly, but a kind of meeting provided for by the statutes of the United Nations Organisation, "at which members can be represented by their Foreign Ministers or even the Heads of their Governments." Nothing may come of it, but every observer of international affairs knows what Mr. Trygve Lie has in mind.

ness in comradeship to the point of resistance unto death. But while there are human rights to be defended and a state of equality in peace to be worked for, this is the only right and effective way.

## A FINE EFFORT

**T**HOSE readers who have been responsible for the fine response to the Forward Fund and the increase in circulation last week were surely the people referred to in a recent sermon by the Rev. Franklin Bower, of Madison, Conn., USA, when he said:

"If your vision of a world at peace is fading before your eyes and you feel sad about the United Nations and its limited accomplishments towards this end, could it be that you are afraid to be a crusader yourself? Could it be that the world is failing because you are failing to take your proper share of responsibility?"

"There are many today who point-blank refuse to give up the vision of peace and real brotherhood among peoples. They believe that peace and brotherhood are far more than the platitudes of preachers and politicians; they believe they are possible goals."

Thank you for the past fortnight's fine effort.

Can we from now on keep contributions to the Fund above the £15 a week level, and street-sellers: can you push sales over the 10,000 mark before the 8-page issue is launched?

## THE EDITOR

Contributions since March 10: £32 2s. 4d.  
Total for 1950: £103 6s. 11d.

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# Vicar starts H-Bomb fast

"WE MUST NOT DRIFT INTO WAR"

"THIS is not an individual act of fanaticism" said the Rev. R. S. S. Waterson, vicar of St. Augustine with St. Andrew, Bexhill, who started a fast on Passion Sunday (March 26), to call attention to the need for a National Committee to negotiate with Russia and America to outlaw the Hydrogen Bomb.

He was addressing a meeting of about 100 people, called last week to explain and rally support for his plan, the first phase of which will last a fortnight, ending on Easter Sunday. If at the end of that period, there has been no official reaction, Mr. Waterson will call another meeting to discuss further steps to be taken.

In his call the vicar asked all Christian people to cease work and begin a solemn fast until the National Committee has been formed.

During the meeting the vicar announced that he intended writing to the Prime Minister outlining his scheme, but following discussion it was agreed to delete the phrase "cease work" from the communication, several members, while expressing their full sympathy with the vicar's call, being of the opinion that without these words the Vicar's case would be infinitely stronger.

Copies of the letter are to be sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

## "Write to Premier" appeal

People in sympathy with Mr. Waterson's scheme were asked to send postcards to the Prime Minister on which were written: "Hydrogen Bomb; National Committee."

The vicar told the meeting that those people who could not undergo a strict fast could show their sympathy by carrying out a simple Lenten fast.

Mr. Waterson said: "This is not an individual act of fanaticism nor something which one individual is conjuring up to make a fuss about. In any case there is nothing fanatical about fasting. From the letters I have received I have evidence that there

is a deep feeling not only in this country but also in America among Christians who share our concern at the drift towards atomic war and the ultimate use of the Hydrogen Bomb.

"I single out the H-Bomb as the summit of worldly evils which we must abolish altogether or control."

"I have chosen to start this movement in Bexhill because, among other reasons, I believe there are more Christians in this town to the acre than anywhere else in England—or at least professing Christians. But from all parts of the country, from farmworkers, factory hands and housewives I have had messages of sympathy and support."

## Response to call "amazing"

"There has been too much talk already about the need for action in this vital matter. The time for talking is over and we must now act."

"My proposal is not prompted out of fear or panic, but we cannot allow ourselves to drift into a situation in which war is inevitable."

Mr. Waterson told a reporter after the meeting that he regarded the response to the meeting as "amazing." He had not expected to see so many people present.

## "Educate young people in peacemaking"

### For's MERSEYSIDE CONFERENCE

HUGH FAULKNER, Organising Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, addressed an annual area conference on Saturday evening, March 11, at Friends' Meeting House, Warrington. He was introduced to members from Warrington and district, Wigan, Crosby, Liverpool and Birkenhead, by the chairman of Warrington and district group of the For, Ronald Eveleigh.

Mr. Faulkner, speaking about "Christ and World Order," stressed that only through the Church did he consider world unity could be achieved. He expressed a belief that "world disorder today is so grave that nothing less than a revolutionary approach to the whole situation is going to have the slightest effect."

He recalled that Christ showed, in His life and death, that the defeat of evil could only come through the practice of its opposite qualities—goodness and love. "As Christians," he continued, "we are called upon to live in this situation of a disorderly world—not to escape from it."

## No easy way to world unity

He spoke of the world's need for confidence and unity. There was no blue-print for peace and no easy way to world-unity; but Mr. Faulkner said a Christian world-community would be concerned with the whole order of society, so that social justice might be achieved; it would seek to discover what was involved in a society not based on arms; and would concern itself about the education of young people in the realms of peace-making.

A discussion followed, during which Mr. Faulkner described the Fellowship's holiday conferences for young people. He and Mr. F. Williams, Area Secretary for Greater Merseyside, also spoke of the need for more funds.

## Abolish all war weapons

Speaking at Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, on Tuesday, March 21, Hugh Faulkner criticised those who would ban the H-bomb but who would allow destruction by other war-like means to continue.

Mr. Faulkner had as his subject, "The way to world unity" and said that the Fellowship stood not for the prevention of wars but their abolition.

Slavery and factory reforms, in their day, had been the problems of the age. The real problem of the present age was the abolition of war.

Mr. Faulkner continued, "We live in a world which is a physical unit already, science has made it so" and he quoted the example of the Comet jet airliner flying to Copenhagen in a hundred minutes.

Despite this, however, there was still disunity among nations and before there could be a semblance of world government there must be world community.

## Don't be afraid of Communism

He appealed that those with pacifist interests at heart should not be afraid of Communism as "most of our fellow Christians are," for he thought that the reason that Communism was becoming popular was because it had the abolition of war as one of its ideals.

"We shall disagree," said Mr. Faulkner, "with its methods of violence and coercion to achieve its object. We cannot escape its challenge at that level."

The chair was taken by the Rev. Edward Smalley of Kettering.

# GUILTY MEN

WHO is to blame for the hydrogen bomb? Not the scientist, says Dr. Joad, summing up a recent correspondence in the News Chronicle.

Science, he points out, is concerned with means rather than ends. We have made it the scapegoat for our collective guilt.

"As well blame the soldier who fires or the steel manufacturer who makes the shell, as the chemist who devises the explosives with which it is filled; as well censure the airman who drops the bomb as the physicist who makes it."

The moral responsibility of each individual is also stressed by the American Christian Century. Lacking this sense, it suggests, men are like devil-gods and religion loses its meaning. Only the Quakers were putting forward specific proposals to resolve our dilemma. What, it asks, can the plain citizen do when all others deny responsibility?

## Alternatives

HE can organise resistance against annihilation by conscientious objection, says the New York "Alternative."

He can refuse to pay war-taxes. U.S. tax refusers issued an eve-of-payment statement on March 14 calling on all citizens to stop their part in the bomb-building and spray-manufacture. They state:

"The act of systematically burning or blasting to bits communities of men, women and children is to us the most hideous form of barbarism in which men have ever participated... No declaration of war by Congress or other similar governmental pressures can move us from our determination to take no part in such unspeakable atrocities."

## Women, too

WOMEN have a special part to play. "Mothers against War" (117 Nassau Street, New York) organised a petition for presentation to President Truman on Mothers' Day this year.

Signatories were pledged to do all in their power "to persuade our sons and daughters to refuse to take part in war, or in any phase of the militarisation of America. In making this pledge, we hope to set an example for mothers throughout America, Russia and every country of the world."

These universal sentiments are echoed from the other side of the "iron curtain":

"I am not a politician. I am not a public functionary. I am only a simple woman. My child was murdered during the war; so were my mother, my friend, and many others dear to my heart..."

"Simple people can live only in peace. Simple people want to build, not to destroy. Simple people want to be happy. I am a simple woman I hate war, I hate force, I hate lies."

"I want justice. I love peace. I want to be able to work in peace for the good of my fellow-men, and for my own happiness."

—Mrs. Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina, Polish novelist and children's author.

## Human Rights

THE French Section of International Voluntary Service for Peace has submitted the following resolution to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations:

There shall be added to article 18 of the draft of the International Covenant on Human Rights (liberty of conscience) a new paragraph in these terms: "Anyone whose religious beliefs or deep convictions forbid him to participate either directly or indirectly in armed conflict shall, in countries where there is compulsory military service, be guaranteed the right to perform a civilian service in place of service with the armed forces."

Conscientious objection is already recognised in Australia, Canada, Denmark, U.S. Finland, Britain, Israel, Norway, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden.

The principle was proclaimed as early as 1523 by Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vittoria, one of the founders of International Law, who stated: "A subject has the right and even the duty to refuse military service ordered by his sovereign if he is

convinced that in accepting such service he would be acting against the dictates of his conscience."

## Atom Convention?

FAILING effective action by the UN Commission, world-government supporters suggest that the proposed People's World Convention in 1951 might provide a suitable forum for the election of a supra-national authority to establish atomic control by a system of world law.

Delegates would be specially chosen to work out a solution between the opposing powers.

Registered supporters of the Crusade for World Government in this country now total 15,000. Federal Union has about 2,500 paying members.

A youth organisation has been formed in Hamburg, "Junge Weltbürger," to educate youth for world-citizenship and the establishment of a World Federation.

## Forgotten Saint

A RESOLUTION from the London Gandhi Society records that the second anniversary of Mahatma's death passed without notice from India House or the India League.

It deplores the celebrations of "Independence," in view of the miseries caused by partition—an act which is said to have broken Gandhi's heart before the bullet pierced his body—and quotes a leading article from the Manchester Guardian.

"After his death India has shown with really indecent speed that in international relations, it is impelled by the same motives as other sovereign Powers. History is full of examples of the rapid abandonment of a saint's ideals by his disciples, even while they cover their actions with his name."

## AB for Peace

MR. SAM WALSH, President of the Bolton branch of the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association, has been making friendly contact with the war-disabled all over Europe. He spoke last year to 1,500 Germans in a Hamburg cinema and gave a broadcast address at the University. He writes in the report of his association: "There is a fraternity of war-disabled, unconcerned as to caste, colour, creed or country, which has so much in common that it can forget all else in friendly and sympathetic greeting of its fellows."

Sam Walsh is also an active member of the PPU and has contributed articles to Peace News.

## Community v. Cosh

THE closing-down of the Peckham Pioneer Health Centre through lack of funds marks a further stage in the disruption of peaceful society and the unleashing of violent crime.

An American visitor, Rev. Robert Morris, who spent some months working at the Centre, has recorded his views in the Peckham Bulletin. Stressing the value to young people of sharing in social activities he says:

"It is for this reason that the conscription of the 18-year-old men strikes me as a vicious social policy that weakens the country at its family roots. For the conscript way in the barracks is irreconcilable with the family in the home. Not only does conscription leave a gap in the Centre, it leaves gaps in the lives of the men who are conscripted and in the young women who cannot help but be affected by their going... In the barracks sex is a selfish, physical, aggressive expression which often has more to do with the relief of anxiety than with love."

## Youth Conference

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation will hold its international Youth Holiday Conference this summer at The School, Malvern Link, from July 29 to Aug. 5.

Young people between the ages of 15 and 25 are invited, and it is hoped that non-pacifists will share in the discussions to be led by Dr. Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell, General Secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples, Rev. Claud Colman, Reginald Sorensen, MP, and others.

The cost is £4 per head, or as much of this sum as can be afforded. Applicants should send a booking fee of 2s. 6d. to: For, 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

MARGARET TIMS

# PACIFIST PARADE

## THE PRICE OF PEACE

THE Mayor of Bideford (Mr. A. K. Chope) was in the chair at a public meeting in the Town Hall addressed by Miss Minnie Pallister, a prominent member of the Peace Pledge Union.

The speaker built up an impressive mass of facts, but even more impressive were the moral considerations.

The audience, impelled to attend by the urgency of present dangers, were shown that all the ways of preventing wars have been tried and failed except one: the firm renunciation of it and refusal to use armaments as bargaining power. Renunciation must be the first step.

If you want war, said Miss Pallister, you need not do a thing. It will be arranged for you, and when it arrives you will pay any price, even to the sacrifice of your dearest; but if you want peace you must face the endless study of other races of mankind, learn the springs of conduct, master the dry details of economics, and curb your own fears and ungenerous impulses.

Displaying a copy of the pacifist weekly, Peace News, the speaker commended it as a real newspaper, dealing with world events in a sober, adult way yet being fresh and readable.

About 50 were present, and a lively discussion followed. It showed varied outlooks, but, in general a friendly if cool sympathy with PPU ideals. Lieut.-Commander S. Gorrell proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor and the speaker.

## Too little interest in peace

Addressing a meeting organised by the Peace Pledge Union at Okehampton on the following Friday, Miss Minnie Pallister, said far too many people today were interested in anything but peace. Their attitude was that there were worse things than war.

"There is nothing worse than war that does not come as a result of war," declared Miss Pallister. "People today are not proud of war, least of all the soldiers who are fighting. It is not the fine or noble thing it was in the past. Today, the feeling is that it is still a regrettable necessity however evil."

Miss Pallister said it remained for them to try and find another way out. In the past there has been a genuine desire to keep the peace, but up to now we have failed because we find it may mean the alteration of our whole life. The great price we have to pay is to view the whole world as one big family, and be prepared to accept any kind of social order which will give to our brothers and sisters all over the world, the same privileges and rights we ask for ourselves."

Miss Pallister said she believed that if everyone concentrated for one whole week on that great object of world brotherhood, the world would achieve more towards peace than it had done in 60 years.

The Mayor (Ald. W. H. Passmore) said although many people gave lip-service to the subject of peace, few were prepared to shoulder the responsibility of placing before the public something which had come to be regarded as unpopular. The peace that we endure was that which found its expression in service.

Miss Pallister was supported by Mr. Charles Slater, chairman Devon and Cornwall area of the PPU.

## Minnie Pallister at Bideford & Okehampton

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# READERS' PAGE

I CAN well understand G. I. Bennett's indignation because many pacifists are unable to pin their faith in World Government.

We could all describe conditions in which WG would work. But those conditions do not exist today, and it is a disservice to peace to ignore realities.

We discussed this issue at the World Pacifist Meeting in India, and came to the Gandhian conclusion that the failure to disarm, to make the League of Nations and World Government work is due to the fact that the real causes of modern war are inherent in society itself, and arise in the main from irreconcilable demands for the earth's resources, and for the markets by which to procure them.

The fears which torment the nations today are not chimeras but arise from the uncertainties of conflicting national economies. Here are some of the Conference's conclusions:

"The key to world peace lies in the development of an economy which by its nature is peaceful and produces none of the stresses which lead to war." The present economy of most nations leads to an endless "expansion of material demands which becomes the dominant factor in home and foreign policy."

"So long as the aim of nations is ever-rising standards of material living, there can be little hope for anything in the nature of World Government, since in a materialistic society those countries with high standards of living will not cease to plan and strive to maintain and even to raise them, notwithstanding that by so doing they will stimulate revolt and ideological upheavals in other parts of the world, which in turn will cause them to devote larger and larger percentages of their national income to militarism and to the buttressing of collapsing national economies, as is happening in our time."

"It is to the recovery and reclamation of spiritual values that we must look for the solution of our major national and world problems."

"To ask for Disarmament (or World Government) without removing the fears that are responsible for armaments is to trifle with reality. It is necessary to face the grim fact that amidst the injustices, the inequalities, the privations, the tyrannies, the conflicting ideologies of power politics, the mounting financial, economic and political problems of our age, disarmament is an idle dream. A peace propaganda that is unrelated to a policy of fundamental social reconstruction and human transformation will fail in its purpose, in a period when time is fast running out."

These conclusions are worth pondering.  
WILFRED WELLOCK

## A call to common action

WHAT I propose saying here is the result of some amount of observation and thought over a number of years. The reason for saying it is that I am convinced it raises an issue of vital importance for the future of the peace cause.

It would be interesting to know how many peace organisations and groups of varying strengths and points of view exist throughout the country. Moreover, how many of the people we encounter in the ordinary course of events know either of their existence or for what they stand? For the initiated the mystic abbreviations PPU, WRI, FoR, NPC, MFWG, CP, CC, PC, and so on, possess a definite significance and meaning, but not for the uninitiated. If they have any dim understanding at all regarding their purpose, the whole collection is dismissed as being too insignificant to deserve serious attention.

That, surely, betokens a most important state of affairs. If unity makes for

## Pacifism and World Government — A united pacifist movement — The Labour Party and Conscription

strength, why perpetuate an innumerable number of comparatively weak units, whose only justification for existence is that they try jealously to safeguard some peculiar emphasis or aspect of their peace message? One hesitates to say what may appear unkind or ungrateful. Unquestionably in their own sphere of activity each of these separate groups has done good work and made a valuable contribution to their common cause. But in view of the world situation, together with the ever more pronounced military tendencies in this country, has the time not arrived when questions of distinctive witness should give way before a much more urgent necessity?

Notwithstanding the varieties of approach to the peace issue represented in these different groups already mentioned, there should be enough in common among them to enable a national peace movement to come into being, which should be sufficiently strong to focus general attention upon itself. Instead of small groups maintaining a more or less precarious life, all the sections of peace thought and activity in the country would be able to speak with a united voice.

Of such a movement the present group of really peace-minded members of Parliament could make a most useful spearhead, supported by all, whether actuated by moral, social, or religious impulses, who believe that the creation of a peace consciousness is the first necessity of the present time. The situation is so serious as not to allow of minor issues of disagreement standing in the way of common action. Such an organisation as I have all too inadequately tried to outline would do much to mobilise the now rather dissipated energies and loyalties of peace lovers who are suffering under a sense of frustration and ineffectiveness.

(Rev.) H. J. DALE

The Manse,  
Maulden, Beds.

(We cannot too strongly endorse Rev. H. J. Dale's appeal for a united and representative pacifist movement—which does not at present exist. When it does exist, Peace News will be glad to spread its united message.—Ed. PN.)

## We must prove our case

IN my public lecture at Victoria Hall on Feb. 5 to some thousand people, I gave the facts of modern atom war and of the Hydrogen Bomb, something I also have done in my recent lectures at Oxford and Cambridge and Birmingham Universities, the title of my lecture to the Society at the last being "The Scientist in the Atom Age."

I put neutrally and dispassionately the inescapable fact that modern bacteriological and atom war, quite apart from the "vibrational" war with which my name is associated, rendered Defence absolutely impossible. Also that we were spending 800 millions a year on quite useless defence forces.

The reaction to these lectures, given usually to packed houses, with an hour or two of questions afterwards, was poignant... but still sceptical. Now, to come to my crux, the feeling is that the pacifists are rather footling people and "cranks." That they have no scientific basis. That they are "unpatriotic."

Might I venture to point out that the "crankiness" of many pacifists has held many people away from the movement. That sentiment alone, like "brain" alone, can be dangerous and inimical to this concept that we have entered a "four-dimensional stage" of war which renders all killing ridiculous. Force cannot kill force. Not any longer. But we must not only say it but prove it.

I myself am not a dyed in the wool pacifist. I believe that physical force is justified in self-defence. I merely think it silly in face of the facts. Also—we need a new approach to war, as I am setting out in all my recent books and as in 1937 I set out in "World Birth" which has gone into many countries.

SHAW DESMOND

Leicester House,  
5 Montpelier Row, Twickenham.

## Make them all hangmen

AS it is unlikely I shall be invited to give evidence before the Commission on Capital Punishment, I should like to make use of your columns to put forward a suggestion.

I suggest that the office of Executioner be abolished and in its place a list of persons be drawn up, comparable to a Jury list, who could be called upon as and when required to carry out the hangman's work.

The list would consist of all the adult persons now residing in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The only exceptions would be those who, for conscientious reasons, objected to the taking of human life under any circumstances whatever, whether personally or by proxy.

Shortly before an execution was due to take place the home secretary would shut his eyes and stick a pin through the above-mentioned list. The person so indicated would then receive a notice calling upon him to attend at a certain prison upon a given day and hour when he would be required to hang a fellow creature by the neck until he was dead.

In the event of the person so called failing to appear he (or she) would be liable

to a fine of not exceeding £1,000 or 12 months imprisonment.

I feel convinced that a simple alteration of the law along these lines would completely revolutionise our whole attitude towards the question of capital punishment.

BRAINWAVE

(name and address enclosed).

## "Conscription and his vote"

HERBERT BRYAN deplores the conscriptionist arguments of his Labour canvasser.

D. A. Jameson writes from rural Bucks to tell your readers that the bitterest opponents of Labour there were family voters who hate conscription and thought the Conservatives would "adopt another policy."

In the Hastings division of Sussex things were not so simple.

The Conservative candidate (director of a Tory newspaper which opposes conscription on military grounds) stood out bravely for conscription of boys who have no votes. Such an unjust policy did not stop him winning this largely agricultural division.

The Liberal candidate opposed "peace time conscription," and got some votes thereby.

The Labour candidate, having invoked the name of Keir Hardie, when challenged defended conscription and said it was fine. Later in the same speech, blushing all over, he said he would like some day to abolish conscription, though he did not say why a younger generation should be denied the benefits of *esprit de corps* etc., and of the other alleged attributes of conscription of which he has so high an opinion.

At the final Labour rally the principal speaker was a prominent member of the Peace Pledge Union.

We are told that pacifist MPs were free to speak the truth "at every election meeting." But the pacifist MP who came to Hastings some months ago, when questioned on conscription said he did not come to express his own opinions, but those of his party.

Opponents of conscription should welcome the present political situation. Every unsuccessful Labour candidate who failed to oppose compulsory militarism should be reproached for letting down the moral leadership of the British Section of the International Brotherhood of Labour.

PHILIP MILLWOOD

Fairlight,  
Sussex.

## If I had been the canvasser...

MANY readers must have agreed with Herbert Bryan when he regretted the road travelled by the Labour Party on the question of conscription.

But it is possible to go too far in imagining:

(1) that all members of the party agree with what the canvassers who called on him had to say. I did some canvassing in the same constituency, and Herbert Bryan would certainly have met with a different response if I had happened to call on him;

(2) that in the early days of the party, Keir Hardie's pacifism was really understood and accepted by the rank and file membership. In just the same way we talk of the retrogression of the Churches as if every member of the New Testament Church were a Peter or a Paul.

I am not arguing for complacency, either on the conscription issue, or with regard to the state of the Churches, but we do not do our causes any good by exaggerated pessimism.

On the immediate point at issue, making full allowance for the failings of the Labour Party on this question, I have no doubt that there is still more genuine anti-conscriptionist feeling within it than the Conservative Party. Our task is to increase and to make vocal that feeling, an approach which seems to me rather more constructive than that of your correspondent.

(Rev.) ERNEST DAWE

Dalston Congregational Church,  
Middleton Road,  
Dalston, E.8.

## Is Labour Socialist?

DOUGLAS ROGERS writes: "right down at the core of things the issue represented in the clash between Tory and Labour is, crudely and searchingly though may be, that of a revolution. At their roots the Conservative and Labour Parties represent totally opposed concepts of what should constitute the motive force in society."

I suppose it depends what you mean by roots. Undoubtedly the Labour Party was originally in opposition to the Tories, but looking back over the last five years, I cannot see how a government that supported every reactionary clique on the grounds that the other side was Communist has anything to do with building Socialism or any connection with revolution. I cannot believe that a truly socialist government would invariably be in agreement with the foreign policy of capitalist America.

This is not to say that I don't prefer the Labour Party to the Conservative Party. After all it is always possible that the Labour Party may one day remember its

socialism, and in the meantime we have some crumbs in the shape of the Health Service and British Railways to be thankful for; but "totally opposed" seems to me a gross exaggeration.

WILLIAM BLATCHFORD

73 South Hill Park,  
London, N.W.3.

## We all hate each other

THE human race may stand on the verge of the greatest catastrophe in its history, yet this crisis is as old as Man himself. Fundamentally it is a crisis in human relationship. The relationship which exists between nation and nation is but a projection of the relationship which exists between man and man. And everywhere members of the same social group, and even of the same family, are fighting each other as bitterly as nations fight wars.

We all hate each other so much. We resent people who are different from ourselves; we resent different ideas and different ways of life. We resist them, instead of trying to accept and understand them. The great problem for the individual is to retain his own ideas, without feeling that it is a personal affront for anyone to hold contrary views. We need a deep humility, a real understanding of our own imperfection and of the difficulties of others. We all seem to think in terms of our success and another's failure, but we must try to realise that we all need each other.

So what, in all this, is the position of pacifism? Pacifism is an integral part of a way of life. We need not feel daunted that few accept this way of life. The nature of human beings changes slowly, and it is better that it should do so and change fundamentally, than that it should change quickly and change superficially. We have no right to expect others to accept pacifism. We must leave it to our lives to be our judge. Therefore we may well remember that the angry or derisive word is as un-pacifist as the machine-gun.

In the present crisis we may consider such solutions as unilateral disarmament, pacifist political action, or world government. Yet the crisis goes much deeper than that. It is here, in the hearts of all of us.

ANTHONY RODWAY

Oxted,  
Surrey.

## Stornoway cadets

I WAS interested to read in Peace News (Jan. 13) that the Stornoway (Lewis) Cadets had refused their annual Admiralty grant because they object to giving boys war training.

Pacifists ought to know and remember that all such organisations including the Boys' Brigade and Scouts were faced with a very strong recommendation from the War Office (equivalent to an ultimatum) in the year 1910, that if they did not become Cadets all privileges (i.e., use of camp equipment, the inspection by military officers in uniform) would be withdrawn. This was a serious threat at the time, but to the honour of all organisations, the proposal was rejected by, I believe, 90 per cent.

Camp equipment was withdrawn for about a year but reinstated later.

When conscription was introduced in 1916 another attempt was made to use the BB as cadets. The position was so critical that the Annual Conference held in Glasgow left the decision to each Company. Only a few Companies donned khaki, and they were looked upon as the black sheep of the family.

Wm. WISHART

13 Railway Approach,  
Worthing, Sussex.

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, March 29, 1940

What is our job? It is simply to make pacifists. We have signed a pledge against war, war now, war in our world, our wrong kind of war. Some people hold that war, meaning political violence, has always been wrong. But that is not the point. The point is that we have pledged ourselves against it now and for the future.

—Eric Gill

Replying to German propaganda charges that the average expectation of life in India was 23 years the British Government declared it was 26 years.

Mr. K. Makins, the first conscientious objector to be arrested for refusal to comply with National Service Act, has now been court-martialled in Edinburgh Castle.

He was sentenced to 60 days' detention which was afterwards remitted by the Army Commander to 14 days. He is not therefore entitled to appear again before the Appellate Tribunal.

## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

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**CENTRAL HALL**

(Continued from page one)

scarred with the denial of that philosophy.

Pacifists should not be content with renouncing war but should be able to name practical proposals. In that connection she supported Mr. H. N. Brailsford's proposals for the neutralisation of Germany.

She denied the prevalent idea that the cause of war preparations was the conflict of ideologies. The cause was, as always, power politics.

She concluded by recalling that it was Passion Week, the best time of all to make the choice made by Christ who chose the right and cast away the wrong.

Sybil Morrison made a strong appeal to people to join their movement by signing the pledge to renounce war. That pledge, she said, was what you made it; the PPU did not tell you what you must do; you interpreted it yourself. All they asked was that you make of it what you thought right.

But in so doing, she added, you had the movement behind you, and you would be helping to create that small minority, of which Vera Brittain had spoken, large enough to make itself felt.

**The influence of individual acts**

Michael Tippet said he had a heartening experience recently when he read in a newspaper that a parson in Bexhill had decided to carry out a form of fasting at this Passiontide to try and bring to the awareness of others the problem of the drift to war.

He wondered where he had read it before, and then had a moment of pride in their little movement because he had read it in their paper, Peace News.

That brought out something which he believed very deeply—that what touches people is individual acts.

He believed such acts told more at this time than what might be called peace propaganda.

As an artist, his one joy, one necessity, one duty, was to create beauty in a destructive world. But though he had a fear of war he knew he could not run away. He also found that when by an effort of will he got rid of that fear and depression, he attained an ideal condition of mind, in which he felt free from that part himself and of others which did not fit into an ideal world.

**The way to divine union**

But the splitting of the atom was a symbol of the release of a great destructive power within ourselves.

People on both sides believed they were right and fought with the intensity and courage of morality. They could only see the white here and the black there. Because this split was so deep the iron curtain had become a horrible fixation.

Gandhi stood as an absolute symbol of some union across the divisions of his own country, and that was why he was looked upon as divine. Other figures were Nansen, Bernadotte, Michael Scott.

These men he honoured and loved because they loved human beings whom he was not able to go and talk to, so they stood for that divine union.

He felt it was not yet the time for movements to become that symbol of human unity; that still rested with individuals.

The young men of the War Resisters International stood alone, but our movement was there to see that they were not alone; and he believed that in our fellowship at that moment we might bring to pass a measure of union within this divided world.

**Labour Pacifist Fellowship calls for 'Bold Socialist Foreign Policy'**

A MOTION deeply regretting the apathy of the Labour movement towards International Socialism will be moved by Will Elliott, at the Labour Pacifist Fellowship's 10th AGM on April 1.

As evidence of this apathy the motion cites:

1. The diminishing number of resolutions on Conference Agenda, dealing with international affairs.
2. The failure of Labour's National Executive Committee to re-introduce the custom of inviting fraternal delegates to annual conference from Socialist Parties of other countries and the failure of the rank and file at Conference to demand the re-introduction of this custom.
3. The absence of any challenge to the policy of the NEC and the Government on foreign affairs with the exception of the challenge of Communist "fellow travellers."

A motion put forward by the LPF's Executive Committee calls for a bold Socialist foreign policy and "the calling together of the USA, USSR and other powers for fresh efforts to outlaw the H-bomb."

Reginald Sorensen, MP, will open the meeting, at Hope House, Great Peter Street, Westminster, at 2 p.m. with a Presidential Address.

**"DO THE WAYS TO PEACE CONVERGE?"****National Peace Council Conference**

THE annual conference of the National Peace Council was held last weekend at Elfinward, Haywards Heath, and took as its title, "Do the Ways of Peace Converge?"

The chair was taken by John W. Lawrence (British Attaché to USSR, 1942-45) who explained that their purpose there was not to form policies or pass resolutions but to exchange ideas and try to find a common platform.

The speakers at the Friday evening session were John Lawrence and Leslie Smith (Director, NPC). The questions were asked from the platform—"Need we denounce each other so much?"—and, "Are our various methods compatible?"

Leslie Smith said they needed to consider the prospects as accepted by the various ideologies. For example: What was the attitude of the NPC to Communist bodies?

One section might say—"By all means unite, the situation is pressing." Another would reply—"Whatever following we have would be diminished if Communists joined us." They needed enlightenment on such questions.

**Is Labour complacent?**

On Saturday morning Lord Chorley (formerly Professor of Commercial and Industrial Law, London University) spoke on "The Social Democratic Approach," asserting that pacifism was stronger in the Labour Party than in any other democratic party.

Speaking of the question of "peace and the preservation of human life," he said he had first thought of putting that first, but on reflection decided that many people thought other things came first, such as independence and freedom.

As for expansion of territory, Lord Chorley said, it is not and probably never again will be, part of British foreign policy.

In the discussion following, Corder Catchpool said he had listened with deep regret to "the complacency with things as they are" in the Labour Party. He found that

**INDIA AND PAKISTAN  
Arms money needed for reconstruction**

ENUMERATING factors making for instability in India, when she gave at Friends' Meeting House, Nottingham, on Sunday (March 19) the concluding talk in a series entitled, "The Awakening East—Peace or War?", Mrs. Grace Lankester said that although population was the long-term danger the immediate problem was the India-Pakistan dispute.

"It is an extraordinary tense and tragic situation, and it would not be right if I minimised it," said the speaker. "At the moment there is fear and suspicion on both sides... anything that the Prime Minister of India says is perverted in the Pakistan press, and vice-versa. The mass emigration of population which has started again in Bengal is keeping back a great deal of constructive work."

The tragic thing was, said Mrs. Lankester, that both India and Pakistan were spending half their budget on defence, while money was wanted tremendously for constructive work.

**Menace of over-population**

Speaking of the menace of over-population was 320 millions, and the annual increase was five millions—the speaker said that when viewed in conjunction with the shortage of food they were faced with a race against time if they were thinking of the threat of Communism, because Communism fed on poverty and ignorance.

"If India can make a settlement with Pakistan and go ahead with all her great projects of food growing and industrial development, there may be yet time for India to be in such a condition that Communism cannot take root."

She was hopeful that, although there might be no change in the next few years, with the spread of education in India the birth-rate would go down, as had happened in other countries.

The All-India Women's Conference was advocating family planning—even in such backward areas as Hyderabad.

We could help bring about the unity which ultimately there must be between India and Pakistan, by not taking sides, said Mrs. Lankester. More conciliators were needed to show the two countries how, at present, they were "cutting each other's throats."

**INTERCESSION SERVICE IN LONDON**

"WE are meeting together to seek guidance and help, that the terrible shadow at present darkening the lands of India and Pakistan might be for ever lifted from this earth," said the Rev. Austen Williams, MA, at an India-Pakistan Intercession Service last week at St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church.

About 70 people were present.

In a prayer for the peace and welfare of the two countries, all were asked to feel a personal responsibility for increasing the spirit of goodwill, forgiveness and reconciliation.

very different from the days when that Party was so enthusiastic for peace.

Ethel Lewis (PPU) said that whatever importance we attached to independence and freedom, it shocked her to hear the preservation of human life and all that it implied referred to as a comparatively minor factor in national affairs.

**Scientists leaving atom plants**

The Saturday evening session was devoted to "The Individual's Responsibility for Peace" and opened with a brilliant address by Dr. Alex Comfort.

"All humans," said Dr. Comfort, "were aggressive; all humans were irrational." Social behaviour was curbed by the State, but national inclinations had no such curb. War was a form of group delinquency, and World Government felt that it should be treated in the same way as individual delinquency.

One remarkable thing happening today in Britain and America was the withdrawal of scientists from atom bomb centres. Men had suddenly discovered pressing engagements elsewhere, others were becoming genuinely ill.

**The Christian approach**

Discussion on this subject was introduced by D. M. Mackinnon, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Aberdeen University.

Christ went about doing good, he said, healing the sick, consoling the sad; yet there was a worldliness in the Gospels which even now could shock temperance reformers.

Christians might take part in peace movements, but if they were wise they should make reservations, for there was no point at which they might not be tempted—"Man makes idols of his own ideals and bows down before them, only to find they are made in his own image."

**The Communist case**

R. Palme Dutt, Vice-chairman, British Communist Party, spoke on "The Communist Revolutionary Way," and said an effective effort for peace depended on a common platform.

The Communist rejected war as an inevitable fact of society, seeing it as an historical phenomenon through class rivalry. He believed that for the elimination of war there must be a changed social system. To the Communist there were just and unjust wars.

During the discussion Rev. J. Fraser McLuskey (Sub-Warden, Army Chaplain's Training Dept., Bagshot Park) believed that people concerned for the cause of peace should be sure that those with whom they worked shared the same ideas of what Peace really meant.

**Summing up**

At the final session the Conference was summed up by Dr. Olaf Stapledon.

It was true, he said, that the various ways converged, but no single one would take us to the goal. Something in each would help.

Labour had missed a great opportunity for securing world peace; we should have remained after the war independent of America and Russia. The Government should have said—"We must keep our independence; we might starve—but we shall not starve to the extent that our souls would starve."

He declared that the ordinary Englishman feared and distrusted Communism when it claimed to stand for peace. For Communism meant to them the police state. They felt that ruthless things went on in Russia; and he appealed to Palme Dutt—"If these stories are mythical, explode them; if true, explain them."

E.L.

**AT ATOM PLANT: 40,000 MAKING BOMBS;  
50 ON MEDICAL RESEARCH**

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union and John Hoyland, lecturer at Woodbrook College, Birmingham, were the principal speakers on "East-West: Atomic War or Peace," at a public meeting in Oswestry, Shropshire, last Saturday. The meeting was arranged by the Oswestry and district Peace Group, and Councillor Emily Rogers presided.

Mr. Hoyland dealt mainly with the possible effects of atomic energy on civilisation. In an atomic war, he said, our cities could survive no longer than 15 minutes, and so the one subject of public importance, at the moment, was a way to prevent such a war. It could be prevented he said, by a world authority, set up to control atomic discoveries.

Mr. Hoyland described the atomic research laboratories in Tennessee, where 40,000 experts were at work upon making atomic energy deadly to human life, and 50

*This mighty mass of the Russian armies and their satellites lies like a fearful cloud over the German people, and the Allies could give no direct protection... I say without hesitation that the effective defence of European frontiers cannot be achieved if a German contribution is excluded from the thoughts of those who are responsible.*

—Winston Churchill, House of Commons, March 16, 1950

*... yet when we achieved, and the new world dawned, the old men came out again and took from us our victory.*

—T. E. Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom, 1926

IT has long been argued by those who hold the view that in some circumstances war is justifiable, that if Britain and her Allies of the first world war had not allowed Germany to re-arm there would have been no second world war. In fact, the lesson to be learned from the mistakes of the past, was that the only certain way to peace lay in fighting Hitler to "unconditional surrender," and afterwards seeing to it that never again should Germany possess armaments.

This policy has been carried out, even to the extent of dismantling factories which could have been turned over to much needed civil production, simply in order to avoid the danger which might lie in the German ability to convert their ploughshares into weapons.

Germany has been made the scapegoat for the last two wars; they have been indicted as the makers of wars, the only disturbers of an otherwise peaceful world; it has been constantly re-iterated that the grievous losses, the long drawn out agony of six years of unceasing strife, could only be fully understood, and truly justified by the certainty that never again would it be possible for Germany to be equipped for war.

**Nuremberg now forgotten**

It has not taken long, apparently, to forget the Nuremberg trials and the lists of war crimes, which were to be so engraved upon living memory that it would be impossible for Germany to take part in another war. That Mr. Churchill, who has so often boasted that it was because his prophecies in regard to the inherent militarism of the German race were disregarded, that World War II became inevitable, should now be demanding that the Government present the Germans to him, on a plate, as Britain's essential allies, is a major feat of disingenuousness.

The military victories of the last two wars—crowned with laurels withered before they were won—have borne the fruit, now ripe for loading the warheads of the bombs which will carry destruction to all the ends of the earth; and still the "old men" cry: "Arm! Arm!"

**Led by bankrupt statesmen**

If the peoples of the world are deceived it is because they are afraid to be deceived, not because the writing is not clear and readable for all to see upon the wall; they have accepted the leadership of statesmen, who are as bankrupt of constructive ideas as a homicidal lunatic, and have, thereby, lost any sense of their own personal responsibility.

It should be obvious to all, that freedom is no freedom if it can only be held by the mutilation and murder of millions of innocent human beings, men, women and children who have had no freedom even to understand the issues, let alone to choose. The truth is that the choice before us today is not to arm Germany or lose a war with Russia; it is to disarm, or perish.

If the human race is to be saved, if it is worth saving, then the ordinary people must be undeceived; the truth must be told them courage to abandon once and for all the fatal method of war. Formidable though it is, this is the work to which pacifists have set their hands and from which there is no turning until the only real victory is won.

**AT ATOM PLANT: 40,000 MAKING BOMBS;  
50 ON MEDICAL RESEARCH**

engineers in a small shack alongside the magnificently equipped laboratories, were experimenting with the possibilities of conquering disease by atomic discoveries.

Mr. Hoyland explained that the present optimistic feeling in America, about a possible war with Russia, was because the Americans realised that Britain would have to stand the first blow, which would destroy her most important cities.

Stuart Morris spoke on the relationships between East and West and described our attitude to Russia during the past years and said that the "Cold War" was due to fear. It was up to us, he concluded, to penetrate the Iron Curtain with goodwill and so banish the unreasonable fear which pervaded the world.

To agree to the preparations of war meant agreement with war, Mr. Morris said, and therefore war was our responsibility.